

Message Text

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PAGE 01 STATE 111462
ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY:P:TMILLER

APPROVED BY:P:TMILLER

S/S-O:MR THYDEN

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 111462

EXDIS DIST AS NODIS, FOR DICK PETRIE PASS AMB YOUNG

FOLLOWING REPEAT NICOSIA 1090 ACTION SECSTATE INFO
ANKARA USUN NEW YORK APRIL 24

QUOTE S E C R E T NICOSIA 1090

EXDIS

HANDLE AS NODIS

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PEPR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS

REF: (A) STATE 103681, (B) USUN 1595

1. SUMMARY: AS SEEN FROM HERE, PRESENT PROPOSALS OF
TURKISH SIDE ARE NON-STARTER AND HAVE ENCOURAGED GOC
TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN PERSUADE US CONGRESSIONAL
MAJORITY OF TURKISH INTRANSIGENCE AND THEREBY MAINTAIN
EMBARGO. GOC AND THIS EMBASSY EXPECTED PROPOSALS TO BE
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MORE FORTHCOMING AT LEAST IN TERRITORIAL AREA. SUGGEST
WE ENCOURAGE SYG TO FOLLOW HIS PROPOSED COURSE OF ACTION
REF. (B) WITH EMPHASIS ON IMPROVEMENT OF TURKISH CHPRIOT
PROPOSALS AND THAT U.S. BE PREPARED TO SUPPORT THIS BY DEMARCHES
TO GOC AND GOT. END SUMMARY.

2. PROSPECTS FOR RESUMPTION OF INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS

BASED ON NEW PROPOSALS BY TURKISH SIDE ARE INDEED GLOOMY AND THERE IS NO EVIDENCE HERE WHICH WOULD CONTRADICT ASSESSMENT CONTAINED REF. (B).

3. GOC PERCEIVES NEW PROPOSALS AS DIRECTLY SOLELY AT LIFTING OF CONGRESSIONAL EMBARGO ON ARMS TO TURKEY RATHER THAN GENUINE EFFORT TO SOLVE CYPRUS PROBLEM. THEY HAVE CONCLUDED THAT PROPOSALS ARE SO RIGID THAT THEY PROVIDE BASIS FOR PERSUADING U.S. CONGRESS THAT EMBARGO MUST BE MAINTAINED AND TO THAT END ARE PROPOSING TO ENGAGE IN A MASSIVE CAMPAIGN (FOR THEM) TO WIN U.S. OPINION. FOR EXAMPLE, A MEMBER OF GOC PUBLIC INFORMATION OFFICE HAS SPENT THE LAST TEN DAYS AT USICA LIBRARY COPYING THE NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF EVERY SENATOR, CONGRESSMAN, NEWSPAPER AND TV STATION IN THE U.S., APPARENTLY WITH THE INTENT OF STARTING A TELEGRAM AND NEWS LETTER CAMPAIGN.

4. SITUATION IS FURTHER COMPLICATED BY FACT THAT NONE OF THE KEY ACTORS AGREE ON WHOM THEY SHOULD BE DEALING WITH. DENKTASH WANTS TO DEAL DIRECTLY WITH KYPRIANOU, WHO WANTS TO DEAL WITH ECEVIT, WHO WANTS TO WORK WITH CARAMANLIS, AND APPARENTLY CARAMANLIS WOULD LIKE TO AVOID DIRECT ENGAGEMENT IN THE CYPRUS PROBLEM ALTHOGETHER. CLEARLY ALL FOUR INDIVIDUALS WILL HAVE TO BE ON BOARD IF WE ARE EVER TO ACHIEVE A REAL SETTLEMENT.

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5. I BELIEVE ESSENTIAL ELEMENT TO GET TALKS GOING IS SOME IMPROVEMENT IN TERRITORIAL OFFER BY TURKISH SIDE. I AM TOLD THAT PRESIDENT MAKARIOS ONCE SAID THAT IF THE TURKISH SIDE WOULD OFFER THE RETURN OF VAROSHA IT WOULD NOT GUARANTEE A SETTLEMENT BUT THERE WOULD BE NO SETTLEMENT WITHOUT VAROSHA. I SUSPECT THAT THE TURKISH SIDE DOES NOT WISH TO REVEAL ITS BOTTOM LINE ON VAROSHA SO THEY COULD GIVE IT UP IN THE COURSE OF NEGOTIATIONS BUT AS THINGS STAND THERE WILL BE NO NEGOTIATIONS AT ALL UNLESS THERE IS SOME FURTHER MOVEMENT.

6. I AM SOMEWHAT CONCERNED THAT OUR NEXT MOVE MAY BE TAKEN WITH UNDUE HASTE. WE HAVE BEEN WORKING HERE IN AN EFFORT TO PERSUADE GOC THAT IT IS NOT IN THEIR BEST INTEREST FOR THE PRESENT SITUATION TO CONTINUE AND I BELIEVE WE HAVE HAD SOME EFFECT. I DON'T THINK IT WOULD HURT FOR THE SYG TO DELAY SOMEWHAT IN ANNOUNCING HIS CONCLUSIONS BASED ON THE NEW PROPOSALS.

7. I, OF COURSE, REALIZE THE BUILT IN TIME FACTOR POSED BY CONGRESSIONAL CONSIDERATION OF THE EMBARGO. BOTH

SIDES UNFORTUNATELY ARE NOW LOOKING MORE AT THE U.S. CONGRESS THAN THEY ARE AT ONE ANOTHER AND BOTH THINK THAT THEY CAN TASTE VICTORY. TO THE EXTENT THAT ONE, OR HOPEFULLY BOTH, CAN BECOME LESS CONFIDENT IN THE ACTIONS OF THE CONGRESS THEY MAY BE MORE WILLING TO TAKE CONCILIATORY STEPS. I PRESUME IT WOULD BE POSSIBLE FOR AMBASSADOR SPIERS TO MAKE THIS POINT TO ECEVIT IN ENLISTING HIS SUPPORT TO GET THE EMBARGO LIFTED.

8. PRIMIN ECEVIT'S PROBLEM MAY WELL BE INTRANSIGENCE OF DENKTASH WHO IS UNDOUBTEDLY INSISTING ON GIVING AN ABSOLUTE MINIMUM BECAUSE HE REALLY WANTS TO RETAIN WHAT HE HAS AND GAIN INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION FOR A SECRET

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SEPARATE TURKISH STATE ON THE ISLAND.

9. BEST HOPE, I BELIEVE, FOR MOVING GOC TO TALKS IS TO OBTAIN SUFFICIENTLY FORTHCOMING TERRITORIAL OFFER FROM TURKISH SIDE SO AS TO CREATE PRESSURE AGAINST GOC ON PART OF REFUGEES ANXIOUS TO RETURN TO THEIR HOMES. WE SEE VAROSHA AS BEING ESSENTIAL AND IF THAT COULD BE COUPLED WITH MORE "GIVE" IN THE MORPHOU AREA, THEN I AM CONVINCED GOC WOULD BE PREPARED TO TALK SERIOUSLY.

10. I BELIEVE WE SHOULD ENCOURAGE WALDHEIM TO FOLLOW HIS PLAN TO LET CYPRUS POT SIMMER FOR A FEW DAYS AND THEN HAVE NEW SRSG GALINDO POHL TRY TO GET BOTH SIDES TO IMPROVE THEIR POSITIONS OR AT LEAST MAKE COMMITMENTS TO FLEXIBILITY. IF THE WALDEHIM APPROACH FALTERS, U.S. MIGHT USEFULLY MAKE TOUGH DEMARCHES POSSIBLY WITH SUPPORT OF EC NINE, TO GOC AND GOT TO POINT OUT CONSEQUENCES OF CONTINUED STALEMATE. TO GOC WE COULD SAY THAT WHILE WE STILL SHARE THE OBJECTIVE OF A JUST SOLUTION, OUR GROWING DIFFERENCES ON TACTICS RUN A RISK OF SERIOUS DAMAGE TO U.S.-GOC RELATIONS AND U.S. ABILITY TO CONTINUE TO HELP IN CYPRUS PROBLEM. TO TURKS WE COULD POINT OUT THAT WHILE ADMINISTRATION IS WORKING IN GOOD FAITH TO GET EMBARGO LIFTED AND DOES NOT LINK THIS IN ANY WAY WITH CYPRUS, IMPROVEMENT IN U.S.-TURKISH RELATIONS WILL BE THREATENED IF TURKISH SIDE IS UNABLE TO IMPROVE ON CYPRUS PROPOSALS AT LEAST ON TERRITORY.

11. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU HAS JUST ASKED TO SEE ME AT 10 A.M. APRIL 25. WOULD WELCOME ANY DEPARTMENT VIEWS BEFOREHAND. STONE. UNQUOTE VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: DISPUTE SETTLEMENT, NEGOTIATIONS, CAT-B, TERRITORIAL CLAIMS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 02 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE111462
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: P:TMILLER
Enclosure: REPEAT OF NICOSIA 1090
Executive Order: GS
Errors: n/a
Expiration:
Film Number: N780004-0757
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t197805101/aaaadikd.tel
Line Count: 166
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: ed27d593-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 4
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 78 STATE 103681, 78 USUN NEW YORK 1595
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 18 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2515335
Secure: LOCK1
Status: <DBA CHANGED> MCM 20040610
Subject: CYPRUS NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PEPR, PBOR, TU, CY
To: USUN NEW YORK
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/ed27d593-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014